In McDougall E-1 (1922-1924) 1968
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593 627 682 [562] [583] family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in a blood feud. A death is answered by a death; if two persons should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In case of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, but if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him. More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the matter is at an end. If a murder be committed within the ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be meted out to the actual [622] offender. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge concerns only the immediate family.

612 619 [627] [682] Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential fluidity of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relationship within which responsibility rests. Instead, everyone knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons share the family life of the individual, and they alone are held to account, or they alone demand compensation. From its very nature, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family thus appear constantly to be attracting to itself members of the ancestral family of either parent, but these relatives themselves are deeply interested in the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral family of both their mother and father. A few days after 553 birth some relative is expected to call together the people of 612 the village where the child is born for the bestowal and valida- 614 tion of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only [558] supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives. It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

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754 members, and delegated the task to a man who was known to be skilled in such matters. The latter stole some shreds of the offender's clothing, placed them in a human skull which he fastened to a long rope and threw into a swift stretch of the river. As the rapids tossed the skull to and fro, the person whose clothing was within began to feel uneasy; first he experienced a jumping pain in his head, but as the wild movements continued, he became light-headed and finally delirious. At this juncture, it was decided to pull back the skull, but the rope broke and it was carried away downstream. Nothing could save the man and he died within a few hours. This particular incident occurred among the Bella Bella, but it is agreed that it might have happened in Bella Coola.

[554] The mingled fear of, and aversion to, a person who knows some such secret method of killing, fades into insignificance compared to the extreme loathing of every Bella Coola for sorcerers. Their methods of killing may be similar to the ones just described, but they are evil creatures who practise secretly, working entirely to gratify their own personal desires. Not
● [683] only is the murder of a sorcerer a virtuous act, but the relatives of one should be put to death without mercy. There is no single factor which has caused so much hatred, bitterness, and suspicion as belief in the activities of sorcerers. Conversion to
[797] Christianity has scarcely altered it, and men who have been members of the church for ten to twenty years remain fully convinced that some of their associates have loathsome abilities as sorcerers. In many parts of the world, belief in black magic and witchcraft is one of the last native convictions to pass away, and it seems probable that this will be the case in Bella Coola although, of course, it will become increasingly difficult to obtain information about the subject.

The actual methods used by different sorcerers vary, although most of them require an article which has been in contact with their intended victim. Consequently, they seek pieces of soiled clothing, nail parings, hair clippings, spittle, and other objects of the same type which are usually concealed

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by their owners for safety. Judas, an old Bella Coola believed to be a sorcerer, has been seen to scrape up the moist earth where a man has urinated; in former times anyone doing such a suspicious act would have been killed. The article obtained is hidden and kept for future use, and if the practitioner wishes to inflict pain or death, he places it in contact with some potent medicine. Human bones are frequently employed for this purpose, although the most powerful is said to be grease obtained by boiling flesh cut from the inner side of the thigh of a recently buried corpse. To obtain either of these, graves must be robbed, another reason for hating sorcerers.

Secrecy is essential, so a sorcerer is usually assisted by his children, and in this way he has a better chance of obtaining articles belonging to different people without arousing suspicion. The necessary knowledge can accordingly be transmitted from generation to generation, sometimes without the slightest inkling of it becoming known. Even if a man is found out, he may be able to bribe his discoverer to silence.

Sometimes two from different tribes work in partnership to lessen the danger of practising their rites near the village of a victim. For example, a Bella Coola sorcerer may send an article to an accomplice in Bella Bella for placing in contact with strong medicine; this causes the victim to languish and die while the person responsible continues his usual routine of life around the village, suspected by no one. The commencement of such a partnership is a matter of great difficulty, since anyone who admits his crimes places himself in the power of his confidant. Sometimes, however, rumours that a certain individual is practising malevolent magic reach a foreign sorcerer who needs an accomplice. If he considers that the information is authentic, he may admit his own prowess and suggest that they work together. Such an arrangement is profitable to both parties, and a partnership so formed may continue for generations.

Sorcerers display considerable ingenuity in arranging that their skill shall bring them pecuniary benefits as well as the

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in a compartment of his box containing a bear's bladder tied into sections; this caused his enemy to suffer stricture and soon to die in agony. 539 754

Following the usual custom, the relatives of the dead man smeared their faces with ashes which they left in position for a year. The widow, who had loved her husband very dearly, allowed this indication of mourning to remain even longer than the customary period. On several occasions *Triko* made somewhat slighting remarks about her excessive grief, and when one of his sons also commented upon it, she became suspicious and told her relatives. One of them was a chief of the village where *Triko* was then living and where he was already regarded with distrust. This man visited the home of his bereaved kinswoman and called the chiefs of her village together to discuss the matter, and to inform them of the suspicions which his conduct had aroused in his new home. Three days later, *Triko* happened to come to the village and was at once summoned to the house where the chiefs had assembled to interrogate him. *Triko* sat on a box in the centre of the group and denied, slowly and positively, that he had any knowledge of sorcery, adding that his poverty confirmed his statement. At this moment *Awaxaikaixaxaix-dis* came rushing into the house, furiously brandishing a rifle, and exclaiming that it was scandalous the way in which unjust accusations were being levelled at *Triko*. One of the chiefs quietly slipped behind the shaman, knocked his fire-arm upwards so that it exploded harmlessly in the air, and threw him to the ground where he threatened him with a large knife.

"I will not brook any interference from you in this matter," he said.

This so frightened *Awaxaikaixaxaix-dis* that he blurted out that he knew *Triko* was a sorcerer and that he had seen his box containing a decayed human body. *Triko* was less excited than anyone else, and slipped out of the house in the confusion, merely pausing to ask:

"What are you going to do about it?"

He returned to his new village where, of course, the news soon followed of what had been discovered. The chiefs decided that he must be killed, and that the most convenient occasion would be at a feast of seals which was to take place in the near future. *Triko* accepted an invitation to this and was slain while he was busy handling his spoon. One of his sons was killed with him, another who escaped through a hole in the floor was slaughtered near the village. His two brothers were absent on a hunting expedition, but a party tracked them and slew them in their camp before they knew that their evil deeds had been found out. *Triko*'s two daughters were allowed to live, but were given to a famous warrior who kept them practically as prisoners. *Awaxaikaixaxaix-dis*, who seems to have escaped all punishment for his share in the affair, guided a party to the sorcerer's box. It was found to be old and moss-covered, obviously 539 754 539 754 483

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spit upon his own hands and rubbed them over the patient's head, his arms, his trunk, his legs, and finally his feet, as if massaging him. *Xnutli*'s strength began to return at the first touch of Thunder's hands, and, when the treatment was finished, he felt entirely rejuvenated. Thunder told him to overtake his friends and to massage them in the same way and they would be revived. He explained that they had been travelling in circles of ever-decreasing radius which was the reason that they had neither reached their destination nor recrossed their own tracks. He added that they must think constantly of their first objective, Ulkatcho, *Nuhâtco* in the Bella Coola language, and that at night *Xnutli* must sleep on the side of the five nearest that goal. 727 787

Soon afterwards the four wanderers were surprised to see a stalwart man swinging along the trail behind them, and their amazement was intense when they realized that it was *Xnutli* whom they had left at the point of death. He bade three of his comrades hide, and massaged the fourth as Thunder had done to him; this restored his strength exactly as in his own case. The one so cured then concealed himself, while *Xnutli* treated another of his comrades, and finally the third and fourth. This was not the end of the assistance so obtained. Within a few minutes of their recovery, they found the trail they had so long been seeking and reached Ulkatcho before night, though under normal circumstances the same distance would have required four days of travel. There were several Bella Coola at the settlement who were overjoyed at the safety of those for whom all hope had long been abandoned. They rested for four days, then set out for home. *Xnutli* told his comrades to fix their minds upon their objective, and as a result they were able to make the journey with phenomenal rapidity. 727

Thunder had granted *Xnutli* the boon of *sukwulaqiut* on this occasion, and had promised that he would come to his help whenever called upon. *Xnutli* was a sorcerer, a profession which had been practised for generations in his family, and he now performed more openly than ever, assured that Thunder would be able to protect him. The malefactor killed more and more people, until he became an object of universal hatred and fear. At last the principal chief of the village, confident in the power which the giving of many potlatches had bestowed upon him, ordered an expert shot to slay *Xnutli*. The man so deputed had himself lost several relatives and gladly watched an opportunity. This came when the sorcerer was paddling across the Bella Coola near the old Hudson's Bay Company's post; he took careful aim from ambush, fired, and the evil man fell dead. A medicine can be made from the corpse of a murdered person, which, when used by the relatives, causes the killer's death. To prevent this, the executioner called his friends and they took 954 [796] [685]